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[Information on ivo, a pervasive supernatural power sometimes called "magical force", will be found in Category 778.]

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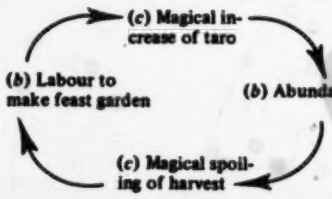
This model is very similar to the exchange cycle in which meat is served as the mediating element. I have already pointed out that taro, displayed on a huge and impressive platform, is an essential part of the gifts offered at a feast. I did not then quote the folk explanation of this. I was told that harvest feasts are beneficial to the donors because feasts make the taro grow well. On further enquiry I found that the Orokaiva believe that taro *always* grows well except if sorcerers from other villages put a spell on it. One of the rituals at a feast is a kind of rain-making ritual performed by medicine men from among the *guests*. When I asked: 'Why the guests?', I was told that they would be expert at removing the bad magic from the gardens because, in all probability, it was they who put it there! We can now see why it is that the guests' forgiveness, in the model, leads directly to a magical increase of taro. I was also told that the increase in the taro harvest would enable the hosts to give another feast soon afterwards. As this second feast would normally not be given to the same group as the first, the idea suggested by the model is that successful feasts enable a village to give an infinite series of feasts, thus attracting an infinite number of allies, one after the other, and becoming infinitely powerful.

In reality, however, this infinite series is interrupted by disappointing harvests and other misfortunes. Such misfortunes are ascribed to the sorcery of enemies, and in order to remove this sorcery, a *peka* is made with the enemies. A feast is held; and it is thought that matters will again improve. There is a periodicity of shortage and abundance, coinciding with the quality of external relations. Prior to the *pax Australiana*, bad external relations caused frequent warfare, the marauding of gardens or the lack of attention to gardens. Feasts had to be held occasionally so that the intensity of warfare would not lead to a serious depletion of food stocks. Feasts thus produced an abundance of food, because they provided peace, or at least a respite from war. The institution of feasting kept the scale of warfare down to a level which the people could economically afford. This ecological basis of the cyclical movement between war and peace is well documented in Rappaport's book about the Tsembaga (1968).

In terms of the model developed in this chapter we may express this cyclical process as follows:

MODEL 4



This exchange cycle belongs to the level of ecology rather than of social relations. The exchange partners in the model are man and his garden. The objects of exchange are the man's extra labour, needed to make a feast garden, and the abundance of taro that his garden can provide in good seasons. But it will not do so merely in response to man's labour. Labour alone cannot

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guarantee success. The transaction between man and his garden must be mediated by the holding of a feast that will dispel noxious influences by which sorcerers have, in the past, spoilt a man's garden. After the feast, the garden will produce abundantly, but this abundance will not last. In fact, the resumption of social relations will lead naturally to hostility; again sorcery will spoil the harvest. Sorcery mediates between man and his garden to impel the gardener to make a new feast garden; thus the cycle is repeated.

This model (No. 4) expresses a point to which my Orokaiva informants returned time and again. The most important benefit an Orokaiva expects to get out of a feast is not improved social relations but a better taro harvest. The rituals of repentance and forgiveness which entered into models 1 and 3 are magical performances with improvement of the harvest as their ultimate purpose. Thus it is wise not to restrict our study of exchange to the social and economic levels only, because the basic transaction may occur on a quite different level, in this case between man and his garden. The method of analysis I am proposing here has the advantage that it moves with equal ease on all levels at which collective representations exist.

4. *The Starting Mechanism*

In this chapter I first sketched Orokaiva social philosophy; I then abstracted some simple diagrams to represent this philosophy. Some elements of the exchange cycles represented by these diagrams are found in all or most cultures. All cultures have transactions between hosts and guests; all agricultural societies have transactions between man and his garden. Exchanges of social objects such as repentance/forgiveness, labour/abundance arise out of universal tendencies of man or nature. There is, however, nothing universal or logically necessary in the particular mediating elements appearing in these diagrams. Meat and taro, good and bad magic, *peka* and *isoro* – these are all peculiarly Orokaiva means for the mediation of social exchange. When Homans and Blau developed their (sociological) theory of social exchange, they gave no systematic attention to mediating elements, and rightly so, because their interest was universal laws, and mediating elements are never universal. However, for the anthropologist, who usually treats cultures as a significant variable, the mediating elements are of special importance.

Nonetheless, even if particular mediating elements are not universal, the use of mediating elements is a universal characteristic of social exchange. Sociologists, by ignoring this fact, have occasionally found themselves in difficulties, as for instance in their discussions about the 'starting mechanism' of social exchange. Gouldner posed the problem clearly in his essay on 'The Norm of Reciprocity' (1960: 177):

> Let us suppose two people or groups, Ego and Alter, each possesses valuables sought by the other. Suppose further that each feels that the only motive the other has to conduct an exchange is the anticipated gratification it will bring. . . . At least since Hobbes, it has been recognised that under such circumstances each is likely to regard the impending exchange as dangerous and to view the other with some suspicion. . . . Thus the exchange may be

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exhibited at every feast for guests to take home. This is an essential mediating element in the social exchange between hosts and guests, and appears as such in model 3. But why does this taro have to be there? What does it do? Why can it function effectively as a mediating element between guests and hosts? The answer to these questions lies in the myth about the origin of feasting (model 2). This myth tells the Orokaiva that if they have a big heap of taro at a feast, they *can* have effective social exchange between hosts and guest. The myth also tells them that this heap of taro is essential. The starting mechanism thus provided by the myth for the social relationship is essentially a magical one. It is a magical code rather than a moral norm, even though it has become institutionalised almost like a norm. Of course, the starting mechanism, like all magic, can fail on occasion. But unless the magic is used, there can never be social relations.

REFERENCES

1 For location of Hamburata, see Fig. 10.

2 After writing this chapter, I found that Sahlins has also been interested in Hobbes' social philosophy as in some way anticipating contemporary ideas about primitive exchange ('Philosophie politique de l' "Essai sur le don" ', 1968). Especially close to Mauss' thought is Hobbes 'Fourth Law of Nature – Gratitude' (*Leviathan*, Part I, Ch. XIV).

A [See Category 57h, p. 59--Analy-t]

MODEL 7

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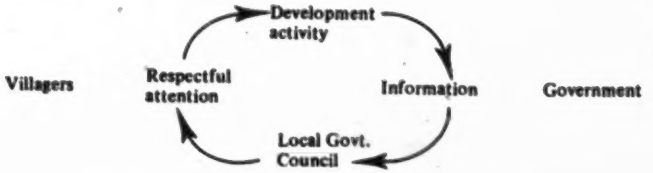

The elements of mediation are entirely indispensable in this relationship. Unless there is development activity, the government will feel that the relationship has broken down. Unless the councillors intervene, the government's information cannot be communicated.

Both the villagers and the government find this exchange cycle highly precarious. It is precarious for the villagers because social exchange, for the Orokaiva, implies a state of competition between the partners. It is unprofitable to engage in social exchange with a partner unless one can hope to equal him (and even better him) in wealth and power. This desire to equal (and defeat) the Europeans competitively is an ambition of which informants spoke to me occasionally when I came to know them well. It was quite clear to the Orokaiva that they could never achieve this objective by growing coffee on small village plots. Hence, they could not regard the activity advocated by the government as being worth engaging in for its own sake. The question facing them was: will this activity serve our ultimate end of achieving equivalence or victory? The term 'development activity', as used in model 7 implies that it is thought to serve this ultimate end. 657 177

I demonstrated in the previous chapter that all elements of mediation are essentially magical. The Orokaiva similarly regard development activity as magical. In response to this notion, government officers sometimes evolve rules of behaviour that look remarkably like magical formulae. One officer in the Northern District invented a regular weekly calendar which he thought the Orokaiva should follow. Certain days of the week should be set aside for coffee growing, others for growing and marketing extra garden crops, others for cleaning and improving the village, and so on. I heard the officer proclaim this calendar; later, I heard a councillor proclaim it in Siwepe village. It was listened to with respectful attention, but afterwards ridiculed by the village men. The formula was rejected because it was thought to be useless. There was, of course, a plethora of such formulae circulating as many officers thought up their own, and most officers were rapidly transferred from one job to another. It was natural, therefore, for the Orokaiva to become selective in the formulae they adopted. Also, experience showed them that the formulae did not always work. 657 177 241 789

The difference between this modern magic and the traditional varieties lies in the greater uncertainty of the prescription. The Orokaiva habitually use an experimental approach to magic: if one medicine does not work, then try another. But all traditional medicine has at least an impeccable source: it was given by the ancestors. The magic of 'development' (money, Western technology, Western power) was, in Orokaiva belief, ultimately derived from Jesus 177 657 789

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Christ and perhaps other supreme sources of which they have no knowledge, but these ultimate sources mostly seem inaccessible to the Orokaiva; the people know their information to be poor and unreliable. Nonetheless, as the councillor from Hohorita remarked, it has been found by experience that the gifts deriving from the government have often been good ones. The relationship is therefore worth maintaining as it may produce further valuable gifts in the future. (This widely held opinion, incidently, is the bane of Papuan progressives, who are pressing for immediate independence of the Territory from Australian rule).

Although, in an attempt to make my meaning clear, I have spoken of the magic of 'development', it is important to point out that the term 'development' has not been borrowed, to my knowledge, in Orokaiva speech. The Orokaiva term is *iji eha* (the new day), a phrase occurring, for instance, in the passage quoted from Councillor Ase's address. The *iji eha* has come about, as we have seen, as the result of the gifts of a new *dema*, Jesus Christ. One of these gifts was a permanent peace, to replace the permanent state of *isoro* of earlier days. But this gift was accompanied by new commandments. Councillor Ase emphasised the casual connection between the gift and the commandments: 'As a new day has now arrived (*oroho evi iji eha avo eto*,), I tell you to be united.' Like *isoro*, so the *iji eha* requires unity, but for the sake of struggles of a different kind: the building of a new village, the growing of coffee and rubber, the support of school education. The commandments of the *iji eha* are in effect community development.

It may thus be said without hyperbole that community development among the Orokaiva has a mythological charter – namely, the Christian religion as the Orokaiva understand it. It acts as a mediating element between the Orokaiva and the European power-bearers: it is the magic whereby a relation of social exchange may be established between the former and the latter and whereby the Orokaiva may eventually become the equals of the white man in wealth and power.

But the second mediating element in this relationship is the councillors, through whom the government's information must pass to reach the people. They do not play the role of leaders but of mediators in a rather limited sense. In their contact with the government (mainly confined to contact with the advisory officer to the council), they receive information and hear council decisions in the formulation of which they generally have no part. The flow of information tends to be from the government to the councillors rather than in the reverse direction. This one-sidedness suits both parties, but especially the councillors, who gain little but may lose much by adding to the government's knowledge. At the village level, the councillor tends to become the chief mouthpiece of the *iji eha*. He is expected to report faithfully, and in detail, what he has heard from the government. His advice will be asked on matters related to council activities, but most of the time it is the councillor himself who takes the initiative and harangues the villagers. He does not expect all his advice to be accepted; he may even have private doubts about some of what he is transmitting. A Sivepe ex-councillor even had the habit of reporting on all council matters in Motu, a *lingua franca* used at council meetings because the advisory officer does not know Orokaiva. Most Sivepe people understand some Motu. By speaking in Motu to his fellow-villagers, the councillor built up his own

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423 ground, and with harvesting, which he may not do. Upon marriage, the new wife
241 is usually expected to garden on her husband's land. There is a fiction that, at
the time of marriage, she 'does not know' the work she is expected to do on the
[581] land of her new affines. Her mother-in-law has to instruct her and it is only after
[585] such an apprenticeship that her husband's people consider her competent to tend taro on their land, harvest it and offer it to visitors in proper style. She would usually have been trained in these tasks by the women of her own clan, but the subtleties of family traditions differ.

423 As against these male and female obligations, we may note some clearcut
593 rights: the man's right to his wife's labour and the wife's equally important right
241 of unlimited access to the husband's garden land and to its produce. This right extends not only to harvesting food for the household, but also for gifts she may
[578] choose to make outside the household, providing that she manages the food
[586] supply so as to avoid shortages. A domestic dispute I observed in Sivepe (referred to in Chapter III above) illustrates the importance attached to this married woman's right. When this dispute was adjudicated, the 'explanation' of the breakdown of the marriage was found in a single incident, namely the husband's instruction to his wife not to go to his garden again. Here, in the view of everyone present, lay the 'root' of the trouble, a judgement with which the husband was willing to agree. This prohibition to go to his garden is one of the few things a husband is on no account to utter to his wife; it amounts to total repudiation of the conjugal relationship.

[431] This brief discussion of social practices has already indicated that a garden
[462] plot is a gift made by a man to a woman, while the productiveness of the land is a gift from a woman to a man (because a man can neither plant nor harvest). Let us now consider to what extent the nature of these gifts may be clarified in the
423 light of rituals, myths and indigenous explanations. It will be best to begin with
241 some legal ideas about land. As has been pointed out by Salisbury (1962: 67ff.) among others, several sets of rights arise with respect to any one piece of land: rights of the village, of the clan, of the lineage, and of the 'father of the ground' or trustee. It is the last-mentioned person who assigns a piece of land (*ende*) to a cultivator for the purpose of making a garden (*pure*). The cultivator to whom
[562] land may be assigned may be either male or female. Among the Orokaiva it is
[462] common for women to have land assigned to them for cultivation in their own right, even though most land is assigned to males. They receive this land mostly from a father or brother, sometimes from their mother. When a woman wishes to have a garden established on her land, she (voluntarily) transfers the land to her husband or another male on a temporary basis so that he can carry out the
[789] crucial male tasks without which the garden cannot be made. These tasks are ritual as well as productive. It is common for the men of a clan to hold a feast together and to kill a pig from which they eat and obtain strength (*ivo*), before clearing new ground. The fertility of the soil depends greatly on getting a good burn after clearing, and a good burn depends on climatic conditions that can never be wholly predicted. I was unable to find out much about the ritual connected with clearing but gather it had to do with control over the sun and
[775] the rain. Another magical danger that arises in new gardens comes from the ghosts (*sowai*) lurking in the reverted gardens or bush that is being cleared. The garden thus established is the gift made by the man to the woman; the *pure* is

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imbued with the spirit of the donor and (ideally) compelled to behave as though he owed the owner quasi-filial allegiance. This is a magical action of precisely the kind I envisaged in the introduction to this chapter.

Finally, a transfer of land may be maintained indefinitely as long as, in the donor's view, it has 'virtue', i.e. as long as it mediates the kind of relationship the donor desires. But when the relationship breaks up, for one reason or another, the owner desires to have his land returned to him. This is why 'residual rights' on cash cropping land are so awkward. The modern age, the desire for money, the commitment of productive effort outside the range of the security circle all tend to disrupt the relationships envisaged by the lender of land. Meanwhile, modern political, judicial and administrative institutions have taken over many of the functions of the old-time alliances which were bolstered by land gifts.

I have explained in detail why traditionally the Orokaiva considered land to have 'virtue' as a mediating element in their most intimate alliances. In particular it mediates the bonds between husband and wife, spirits and living, paternal, junior–senior agnates and maternal family, and between an indefinite category of close friends.

Land may also act as a mediating element in a negative exchange between a sorcerer and a person who has aroused the anger of that sorcerer, as happens when the former blights the crops of the latter by placing a curse on the land. In many situations of this sort, events which we would class as metaphysical, physiological or climatological are explained as arising out of social exchange. Such beliefs tend to increase the importance attached to the maintenance of satisfactory social exchange relations because the averting of misfortune in the metaphysical, physiological and climatological realms is made conditional upon successful social relations.

The prosperity and opulence of the land thus becomes a measure of its owner's moral and spiritual wellbeing and the amity with which he is regarded by his fellow men. A good man is a good gardener: a good gardener is a good man. This equation is not arrived at by the Orokaiva with the aid of some Frazerian notion of contagion, but on the assumption that the good man has good exchange relations: therefore nobody would wish to harm his garden; therefore the garden must necessarily be in perfect condition. In this as in many other instances exchange is used as the *explicans* of what might well be explained in many other ways. It is because of such gratuitous use of exchange as *explicans* that I am inclined to regard it as a key concept in Orokaiva philosophy.

REFERENCES

1. I am using the term 'transcendental' in the sense of Schutz 1967 who demonstrates the transcendental expenses arising in social relationships.
2. For the location of Garombi, see Fig. 10.
3. These growers held certificates of title issued by the Higaturu Local Government Council, but these certificates have no legal force. I shall discuss in the next section of this chapter the pressures by which the Orokaiva are gradually being induced to establish sole titles.
4. Money as the means of salvation is a theme of many millennial cults, as is argued in detail by Burridge 1969 (*passim*, but see especially pp. 41–6).

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CHAPTER VII

PIGS

1. *Introduction*

While taro exchanges serve to maintain the basic social network used in transactions, the pig is the most common object of mediation in critical situations. Unlike taro, pig is not consumed as part of the ordinary diet, but is commonly described as a 'feasting food'. As feasts are held only to mark a crisis in social relations, it will be our task to investigate what makes pig meat specially suitable as a feasting food. One may, at the outset, answer this question with a remark about the physiological properties of pig meat: as the Orokaiva diet normally includes little first-class protein, any meal at which meat is served may be expected to have a specially invigorating and exhilarating effect. But in the present inquiry it does not suffice to give physiological explanations: our problem is to discover how the exhilarating experience of eating meat becomes symbolic and how it is magically utilised in the managing of social crises.

Pig meat is used both for the restoration of good relations after a quarrel or estrangement and for the establishment of new social relations. As such it serves a function in widening the social network. This function is hinted at in the basic pig myth about Totoima to which reference has been made earlier. When Totoima was killed, the joints cut from his body were distributed far and wide and caused all those groups who shared in it to multiply rapidly. This sharing may thus be regarded as a kind of communion which implies both social relations and the conferment of a blessing. Both these themes are strongly present in all ceremonies where pig meat is shared.

But there is a second theme as well: there is in every gift of pig meat the notion of a reparation, either for past services rendered or for past injuries suffered, even though these injuries on some occasions may amount to no more than the lapsing of social contact. The Totoima of the myth, of course, was guilty of many murders and his death was an occasion for dispelling many grievances. Thus the gift of pig meat implies not only a communion but also an expiation.

In treating pig as an object of mediation in exchange, I shall need to demonstrate specifically that in certain respects a gift of pig resembles a sacrifice. It must be shown that the offerer identifies with the pig that is given away or sacrificed, and that there is a belief in the 'virtue' or magical power of the sacrifice both in establishing a social link between sacrificer and human beneficiary and in strengthening the spiritual state of the sacrificer himself.

The data show that pig sacrifices may be regarded equally well as rites of communion and as rites of expiation. The key to their significance, however,

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lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1]

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a *sovai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, states its message most clearly:

into two separate realms: the human world, comprising villages and gardens, and the wild world, *aiiri*, the bush, where everything is dangerous and inimical to man, and where the ghosts (*sovai*) have their abode. The area friendly to man is thus reduced to a small space, whereas the area hostile to man is an infinite expanse. Thus man is forever at strife with all but a small circumscribed portion of the universe. The myth of pig-man restates in another idiom the message of the primal theft of the piece of string.

3. *Domestication of Pigs: Husbandry*

Separate though the worlds of bush and human habitation may be, Orokaiva still view them as linked by an exchange relationship. One side of this transaction has already been described in detail by Williams (1930:267ff.). A man becomes a *sovai* at death. As such he enters into various animals. An important class of *sovai* (though not all *sovai*) can be recognised by the abnormal appearance or behaviour of the animals into which they have entered. They are greatly feared and are thought responsible for a great variety of misfortunes. Thus if a man fears the supernatural dangers of the bush, he does not regard these as generated by anything inherent in nature, but as introduced by dead hunters and killers who retain their human wilfulness while deprived of human bonds.

In certain special circumstances bush creatures may re-enter the protected confines of human society. The most important example of such a reverse transaction between bush and village is furnished by the domestication of pigs. There is, of course, no zoological difference between wild and domestic pigs, both being scientifically known as *sus papuensis* and known in the vernacular as *o.ohu*. The myths explaining the domestication of pigs are all very simple. In one of them the first pig ever killed by man was a sow marauding the taro gardens. After killing her, men heard a mournful song by the root of a tree. It was sung by her piglets who were thirsting for their mother's milk. The piglets were taken to the village and became the first domestic pigs. The piglets' song, of course, is still known.

The breed has continued until today, being constantly replenished by foundlings from the bush. As boars are castrated, sows mate in the bush. In the bush around Sivepe some wild boars must still exist, though these are probably the offspring of tame sows who have escaped to the bush.

The domestication of piglets is a complicated task which I once saw performed at Inonda. When a piglet was found in the bush it was given for rearing to an old woman who was an expert at domestication. She made a medicine by chewing together betelnut, *hingi* (a peppery leaf) and *arifa* root (in Sivepe *akore* root would have been used). She spat this medicine into all body apertures: mouth, eyes, ears, nose, rectum, genitals. A few hours later she carried the piglet to a creek, washed it and placed it in a string bag (*eti*) in the same way as a baby. Five days afterwards, the piglet could be seen walking through the village on a leash, held by its 'mother'. After two or three weeks, it was regarded as domesticated.

The medicine was intended to seal the piglet from *sovai* who might otherwise enter it. As a bush animal, the piglet was considered impure, dangerous, and liable to spirit entry. The Orokaiva believe that it is *sovai* contamination which

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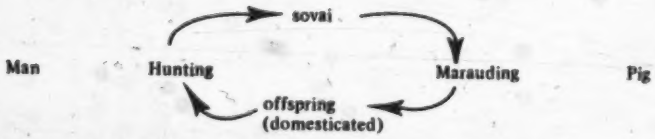
distinguishes wild pigs from domestic ones. Once the spirits have been effectively expelled, the piglet *thereby* becomes domesticated. This means that it obeys the calls of its mother. It learns to forage in disused gardens but keeps away from growing taro. The piglet will not stray too far into the bush but comes home every night to be fed, and goes to sleep under the house.

Yet some danger of *sovai* contamination always remains. It may happen that a village pig stays away in the bush and does not return when its mother calls. The mother keeps on calling it from day to day, still hoping that it will return, but after a fortnight or a month it is accepted that the pig has gone wild. Or else it does return when the mother calls but returns to the bush as soon as it is fed. In all such cases people say that the spirits took the pig away and did not send it back.

These facts suggest an exchange cycle arising out of the following four notions: (1) A man turns into a *sovai* upon death. (2) *Sovai* entering pigs maraud gardens and attack humans. (3) A pig is domesticated by the driving out of the *sovai*. (4) Meat from the domesticated pig provides man with the *ivo* (strength) he needs for hunting pig. (This *ivo* makes man a dangerous *sovai* after death.) This cycle may be expressed as follows:

MODEL 22



Live domesticated pigs are not used a great deal for the mediation of social exchange. Certainly the rearing of pigs enters widely into the exchange of prestations between the sexes, for it is a task women customarily perform for close kinsmen (husbands, brothers, sons). In addition it is not infrequent for piglets to be given to relatives and friends from different villages whose wives then rear them 'for the owner'. Salisbury (1962) noted a similar custom among the Siane, but here the purpose was somewhat different. The Siane have feasts at which 150–200 pigs are slaughtered. Here the recalling of lent pigs is an essential prerequisite for the holding of a feast and, indeed, feasts on this scale would be impossible unless the task of rearing was distributed among several villages. Orokaiva feasts involve far fewer pigs (seven, at a Hohorita feast, seemed normal). Admittedly, lending pigs for rearing does have an obvious economic advantage, similar to the one suggested by Salisbury: once the owner has lent a piglet to a man from another village, he finds it easier to resist demands that will be made from time to time by relatives who 'urgently' need a pig for purposes too compelling to ignore.

Basically, however, this institution is just another way of mediating social exchange. By lending a man a piglet one starts a partnership. The partner does not usually return the pig he has reared but instead gives a piglet which will in turn be reared by the original donor. One might say that the offspring of the donated pig returns to its 'mother's' village. In this way the institution of

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desire to raise the prestige and potency of the group, to initiate a new age set. In that case, the village elders might well take the decision to hold a feast before they had determined precisely who would be the guests. Usually, a number of motives were present simultaneously: the feast would strengthen the prestige of the leader who gave it, and of that leader's village; it would build up alliances and allay hostilities, while at the same time some young people would be initiated and any other minor pending ceremonial duties discharged.

In 1967, all three villages I studied were involved in feasting. Inonda's feast was in return for the invitation from Sewa the previous year. Sivepe was inaugurating feasting relations with Togahou, a traditionally hostile village with which Sivepe desired friendly relations. Hohorita had held two feasts in the previous year and had received return invitations. The Sivepe feast of 1967 and the Hohorita feasts of 1966 provide an interesting example of the diverse arguments by which people may be induced to hold them. In the case of Sivepe, two generations had passed since the last war with Togahou. The abductions of that time had led to legitimate affinal relations and some reasonably peaceful marriage arrangements, but relationships had remained rather cool. The sickness of an old Sivepe woman married in Togahou led to a series of massive visits and to a desire on both sides to open feasting relations so as to bury old hostilities.

In Hohorita I was given the explanation that the feast in 1966 was held because 'feasts are what brings food', in other words feasts magically increase the yield of the gardens. Informants considered some of the important benefits of the feast to be that the first-born had been ritually blessed, that rain-making ritual had been performed, etc. But an analysis of the recent history of Hohorita made evident the presence of other motives. The village had been established in 1957, the inhabitants being the survivors of the Sangara tribe, which had lost over 90 per cent of its members during the Mount Lamington eruption. The establishment of the village had been followed by years of economic stringency, but at last by 1966 the economic effects of the disaster had been wholly dissipated, coffee trees had begun to bear, and the prime problem of the Sangara survivors became the establishment of friendly relations with surrounding villages. This was not easy, as the Sangara had been powerful warriors greatly feared by the rest of the Orokaiva. I found plenty of evidence that the Sangara are still far from popular.[3]

Sangara informants told me that they did not know which villages they would invite as guests at the time it was decided to hold the feast. The custom is, so I was told, for a prominent man to announce that he desires to give a feast. This man thereby assumes responsibility for a substantial part of the provisions that will be necessary. He must have wealth, but he must also have ceremonial knowledge and diplomatic expertise. Such a feast leader is called a *pondo kiari embo* – a feast expert.[4] Once this man has made the announcement the men present at the meeting will decide among themselves which village will be invited. It turned out that the first village chosen by Hohorita declined but a second village (Koipa) accepted. Although my Sangara informants did not overtly state to me that the purpose of this first post-eruption feast was to make peace or build up good relations with neighbouring groups, this was quite definitely the effect. We may conclude that feasts are normally decided upon for a combination of religious and political motives.

The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament. 796 574

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children. 782 [825] [784] [842] [602]

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests. 574 614 621 [628]

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals. 574 628 437 [789]

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something like imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery. [789] [244]

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a corporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A 574 621 [789]

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574 crop failure at Hohorita would be explained as resulting from sorcery inflicted
621 upon the people collectively by a sorcerer from one of the traditionally hostile
[789] villages near which the Sangara have been forced to live since the eruption. The
[754] sickness of a Sivepe woman resident in Togahou would be ascribed to an unknown Togahou sorcerer in whom the old anger against Sivepe still rankled. It might have been almost anyone. Both these types of trouble were met by the collective catharsis of a feast, as everybody had been involved in the wars that caused the hostility.

574 Yet it is clear, from the evidence presented here, that a feast does not serve to
628 set up warm and affective relationships between collectivities: the host and guest
437 communities, as such, do not actually eat together or converse with each other
572 closely. Strictly, they do not even sacrifice to each other. Certainly, some significant bonds are established, but these are entirely between the sets of individual partners. It is they who sacrifice, offer hospitality and make opulent gifts to each other. It is they who come to know each other in the intimacy of their homes. In some cases the host has never met his guest before the feast was planned. In other cases, host and guest are kinsmen or traditional guest-friends. A partnership which starts at a feast may be ephemeral but if the partners feel attracted towards each other, it may be perpetuated and even become a hereditary guest-friendship. Moreover, feasts may generate love affairs and may make strangers into affines.

It is in the individual friendships established in the host and guest villages that we find the best hope of future peace. Though strife between individuals is always likely to recur, it is the inter-village friendship links that may prevent this strife from spreading and becoming collective. Any explanation of Orokaiva pig sacrifice has to take account of the fact that many of the vital transactions, sacred as well as secular, are between individuals, not collectivities. The rites give a good deal of evidence for both communion and expiation, but their concrete end product is a set of dyadic relationships restored or established between individuals and their households. Certainly religious ideas enter into the transaction between the offerer and the beneficiary of the sacrifice, but these ideas serve principally to give the act of sacrifice the deep significance that is attached to the human bond: the sacrificer is possessed by his ancestor as he kills his own pig-child. This is powerful magic indeed with which to obligate the partner who receives the flesh of the victim.

7. *A Model of Pig Sacrifice*

574 While the evidence presented above is consistent with model 25,[A] that model does
628 not account for all the facts under consideration. If we take a synchronic view of
778 the transaction between host and guest, it is clear that both gain *ivo* from the feast. The guest gains *ivo* as he distributes the pig meat he has received to members of his family and perhaps some other members of his local group. The host gains *ivo* as the deleterious influences that previously caused disease, crop failure, etc. have been dispelled. We do not, however, obtain any explanation from the model as to why the pig sacrifice was a necessary preliminary to the obtaining of *ivo*.

A [See Category 574, p. 148--Analyst]

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824 772 partners, while objects of mediation are not imaginary and magical, but have a real existence. I shall deal with these two aspects in turn.

3. *Coconut as an Object of Mediation*

824 [252] [262] [272] [431] Coconut has several culinary uses: it is eaten raw; soup is made of the flesh; the squeezed flesh produces coconut cream in which taro and delicacies such as river crabs may be cooked. Young coconuts are cut open at the top and used for a refreshing drink. Coconut is reserved for two kinds of everyday food gift: cooked dishes offered to guests and young coconut offered to visitors on arrival. Waddell's figures for coconut transactions are surprisingly low (less than 1 lb. per week disposed of in an average household). In Inonda, where the climate favours the coconut, there has been sporadic commercial exploitation of the nut.

[574] Coconuts are also a feasting food. At ordinary harvest feasts and bridewealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other [262] vegetables. Williams (1930: 44) reports that they used to be placed under a taboo when a large feast was pending. I have already mentioned that at mortuary [764] feasts they are the principal object of mediation between the plant emblem group of the deceased and the village which has provided services to the deceased at the time of death (See Williams 1930: 223–6). I saw a variant of this ceremony at Hohorita in 1967. The plant emblem groups of the deceased couple provided massive gifts displayed on a platform: feast taro, tins of fish, cartons of flour, corned beef in tins, sugar-cane, pots of cooked vegetable food, small bags of salt, smoked meat, a dead pig suspended from a stick, rice, bread, an abundance of betelnut and carved taro suspended from horizontal poles placed above the platform, while at least 1000 lbs. of coconuts, strung to poles supporting each other diagonally, were seen everywhere among the other gifts.

[262] [146] Coconut is correctly believed to be a valuable adjunct to children's diet, as it provides first-class protein. The belief is explained by Orokaiva in a myth quoted by Williams (1928: 122) according to which the first child ever to eat a coconut [231] grew miraculously overnight. Children do eat a good deal of it and it is also fed regularly to dogs and chickens. Orokaiva also regard the effects of coconuts on [235] dogs as miraculous. As neither dogs nor children have any other substantial supply of first-class protein, the coconut relieves a very real diet deficiency. Whatever religious significance is given to the coconut is related to this.

824 778 Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body, not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy. In a ritual performed over a man-slayer, a coconut was broken over his head as a purificatory and 'defensive' device in [302] the sense that the fluid would drive away dangerous spirits (1930: 175). With the same end in view, the bodies of female initiands and certain ornaments worn [789] at dances are rubbed with coconut oil (1930: 207). It would appear, in view of this evidence, that the coconut is in general identified with *ivo* communicated by [881] the dead to the living. The coconuts of a dead leader are thought to contain his *ivo* in a form which is communicable, not to his kinsmen to whom these [761] coconuts are taboo, but particularly to his affines. The quoted ritual uses of the coconut are all associated with some contact with the world of death, i.e. critical situations in which the living have been in contact with death and need the help [764] of the dead to obtain *ivo*. While this *ivo* is communicated, through the mediation

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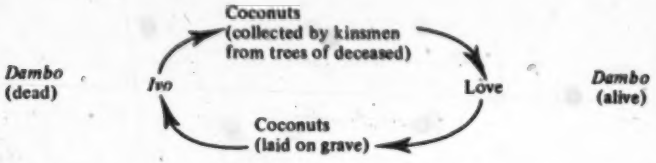
of coconut gifts, in a great variety of sometimes quite casual relationships, the most crucial communication occurs in the large-scale, highly structured mortuary feast where we may regard the archetypal exchange situation as occurring between brothers-in-law (*dambo*), one of whom is dead while the other is alive. The exchange cycle is as follows:

MODEL 28



4. Areca *as Object of Mediation*

Areca, a mildly narcotic fruit, is chewed with lime and pepper (*hingi*) when persons, often from different households, are sitting together to relax and talk. It is always offered when friendly visitors arrive from other villages. It is chewed by women as much as by men, though by Waddell's statistics men act more frequently as donors of *areca* in the exchange network (71 per cent of recorded cases). *Areca* is the only Sivepe food product of which, by Waddell's statistics, more than half the disposals are to other than village residents. Table VIII/1 summarises the number of transactions but does not show that Sivepe is an exporter of betelnut, while lime is imported. Much of this export is in barter but sales for money also occur.

When friends from the same village are sitting together betelnut is shared in much the same way as beer in our culture, i.e. people offer nuts to each other but expect to come out approximately even. At visits to another village, it is more common for the principal visitor to make a bulk donation. The hosts share out betelnut among their guests either by throwing a few nuts to each person or (on more formal occasions) by the principal host presenting the principal visitor with a large bunch, leaving the latter to share them out among his people. The visitors also hand a nut to anyone in the host group who has no nut to chew. The two principals will distribute some of the *areca* they have received to chosen persons within their own group.

Betelnut is treated as a valuable commodity. It is never given away in heaps like ordinary garden crops. Its value is undoubtedly associated with its narcotic properties. At social gatherings its main effect appears to be that it creates a relaxed and genial atmosphere, breaking down hostility otherwise likely to exist between groups. Its magical use is so widespread that its supposed effect is hard to determine from the evidence of medicines. Many medicines consist of *areca* chewed with some specific purpose, and as such it is applied in hunting magic, magic for drumming, and magic against a variety of diseases.

In ritual its role is often the same as coconut, e.g. at mortuary feasts. The exchange cycle shown in model 28 applies similarly to betelnut. Yet, just as its

4. *Additional Data on* Otohu

Discouragement of initiation ritual by the Anglican mission and the consequent weakening of the institution greatly hampered me in obtaining the additional data needed to clarify Williams' account. Unable to attend any ceremonies, I had to depend almost entirely on interviews. Most adults still own *otohu*. The men usually receive them at initiation, the women either at initiation or, quite often, at the time of marriage. In about half the cases the father was the donor; in most other cases it was the mother's brother. One man who had been elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council, was honoured with an *otohu* by his wife's father.

With regard to initiation ritual, the seclusion of boys is no longer practised and the period of seclusion for girls tends to be much shorter than in earlier days. It is, however, rarely shorter than three weeks and sometimes still lasts for some months. The influence of the mission is given as the reason for the changes. When I asked why the modern custom for girls differs from that for boys, I was told that if girls were not secluded and subjected to the full ritual, they would be unable to control their menstrual flow; they would contaminate the village and sicken.

Kogumbari often occurs on the occasion of Christian festivals such as Easter, when the girls, fully dressed up, are 'shown to the people' during a dance on the mission ground. The white missionaries are unaware of the significance of the event. It appears that two ceremonies (puberty seclusion and initiation) to which adolescent girls used to be subjected have been reduced to one, which takes place upon the commencement of menstruation. *Otohu* are bestowed either then or upon marriage.

Boys receive their *otohu* at ceremonies which have become known as 'birthday parties', one of which is fully described by Crocombe (1966). The whole ceremony, including the conferral of *otohu*, usually occurs in a single weekend or at Christmas and a drinking party is sometimes given to the people by the father of the initiand. I never managed to attend one of these occasions but suspect that in many villages the ritual still involves the appearance of *embahi*. I have knowledge of one instance in a village close to Sivepe in 1967.

I was able to obtain additional data, relevant to the puzzle of the nature of the *otohu*, on two main topics: the role of the mother's brother and the role of the *aguma*. According to Orokaiva ideal norms, as stated to Williams (1930: 187) and myself, the mother's brother (*epe*) is the proper relative to perform initiation. This rule, like all others, is frequently broken, but it is worthy of mention that if there is no *epe* available to officiate, there is absolutely no preference for finding a uterine kinsman as a substitute: any other male consanguine is considered suitable, and in fact a father or father's brother often officiates. When Orokaiva informants were asked why mothers' brothers have this special relationship with their nephews, I was always told it is due to the love between the mother and her brother, in other words the *du* relationship. It is definitely not due to any special bond with the matrilineage or maternal patrilineage.

Bestowal of the *otohu* is only one of a series of ritual benefits customarily provided by the *epe*. These benefits take the form of medicines (*sivo*). A man

604 receives certain essential medicines from his father (e.g. for hunting, for planting
789 taro) but other medicines are acquired during adolescence from the person who performs initiation, i.e. ideally the *epe*. These medicines include: *ba kovari sivo*, a medicine applied to taro leaves when the tubers have filled out and are ready for harvest; *kakara sivo*, a medicine for success in sex; and *saruka*, medicines for killing enemies. Though these presentations are entirely separate from the gift of an *otohu* they do indicate what spiritual capacities a man normally derives from his *epe*; the fact that these include the capacity to kill enemies helps us to understand more easily why killing is so strongly emphasised in the ritual of the bestowal of *otohu*.

881 Nobody has the *right* to receive an *otohu* nor does anyone have an obligation
301 to confer it. It depends in theory on the *epe's* appraisal of the worth of the
604 young initiand and especially on how the latter has behaved towards his/her *epe*. Has the initiand been co-operative, obedient, well-behaved? The questions are rather similar to those asked by Father Christmas. But, like Father Christmas, the *epe* has a prior commitment: to part with his treasure to *someone*: it is in the nature of the *otohu* to be passed on from generation to generation, and ideally it is passed on in the matriline.

881 When I asked informants about the significance of *otohu*, their replies were in
301 general very close to what Williams had reported: people respect their *otohu* as
577 the concrete embodiment of the moral virtues they regard as most important in life. When I asked for the reasons for this respect, one informant answered: 'I received this *otohu* from my mother's brother who was a good man. My sister has a son now. I want to give this *otohu* to that boy when he has grown big.
[778] *That is what makes it otohu* (=holy).' We should note the emphasis the informant placed on the words 'I want to'. He invoked neither obligation nor 'custom' but rather a sense that his *otohu*, by virtue of its inner nature, was destined to be passed on to another initiate. My informant did not consider this a loss to himself, for he said: 'If I want another one, I can always make myself one.'

729 The second ritual actor about whom I obtained additional data was the
881 *aguma*. The rite of tantalising the initiate before giving him his *otohu* continues; the term I was given for this rite among the Sangara was *otohu pasari*, the verb *pasari* being also used for catching fish. I was also told about the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds, but this information came from middle-aged men. When these men were initiated, there were still old warriors who could claim a respectable score of killings, but by now most of these old warriors must have died out
[266] among the Orokaiva. Profound changes in male initiation ritual have coincided with the dying out of the genuine old cannibals: one might say that one reason why the institution of initiation has been transformed is the absence of persons with the traditional qualifications of the *aguma*. One difference between the modern 'birthday party' and traditional initiation is the greatly reduced emphasis on killing as a capacity bestowed on the initiand.

729 *Aguma* were usually not from the same village as the initiands. They were
881 generally invited from a village two or three miles distant. In Sivepe, villages such
628 as Isoge and Kendata were quoted to me as suitable places from which to invite an *aguma*; for Hohorita initiations they might come from Bonge or Koipa. The
[754] total list of *aguma*-villages as given to me had a striking resemblance to another

657 of these four households one of the resident families intends to
423 build or is building a house into which it will move shortly.

182 Many who have remained in their village have erected temporary
592 shelters on their blocks in which they spend one or two nights at a time. None of the Tara people has left the village, but no one
657 has to walk more than ten minutes to reach his block.
423

Five of the six men who have moved with their families on to the
182 blocks are living in two hamlets. In the first settlement, about
361 twenty-five minutes' walk from Ombi village, two men have built houses on their own blocks on either side of the access road. In addition, they have built a 'meeting house' in which passers-by can sit and chat, and a latrine. One is the son of the other's mother's brother.

In the second settlement, about forty-five minutes' walk from Ombi, three households are situated on one block. The three households belong to the blockholder, his sister's son (who holds an adjacent block) and his father's brother (who is not a blockholder).

[789] The sixth man to have moved from the village claimed that one of the old men at Ombi was destroying his taro by practising sorcery, and moved to his block, ten minutes' walk from the village, to protect it.

[592] Apart from this last man those who have moved to the blocks are living in small kinship groups rather than as individual farmers
[484] each on his own block. In addition, each of the block residents
[525] spent a considerable amount of time in Ombi village during our stay, particularly while gambling during the weekends. One brought his family to Ombi after his wife had a baby and stayed for a few days in the house of a kinsman.

Although only six men have moved to the blocks, another twenty said they would like to do so in order to be able to work on their rubber away from the distractions of village life, like Council and mission work. Most of these people said that they were 'not allowed' to move. Some said it was Administration policy that people should stay in their villages and quoted particular officers (from two different departments) who had told them not to leave the village. Some said that they were not allowed to move to the blocks until they had a 'licence' (possibly a reference to the title document) or until all the people in Papua-New Guinea had done so, or until the local member of the House of Assembly had been told about it in the House. Some said that they should not move until the Administration told them.

Three people said the Administration favours villagers living on their blocks. Two of these do so and the third said he is waiting till the other villagers move before he moves.

121 these changes have had on the physical environment, especially topography and natural resources.

Section 2: Climate

132 The temperature varies between 70° and 90°F. throughout the year, both in Sivepa and Inonda. The Inonda people think that the nights at Sivepa (and on the mountain generally) are rather cold and it is true that in Inonda night temperatures are noticeably higher. The temperature also fluctuates slightly with the season, being higher just before and during the wettest season, i.e., from [921] September to February. The Orokaiva like the sun to shine strongly. They think a strong sun heals the sick and they like working in [789] the sun. One recurring theme in spells to improve the growth of taro is that the sun should shine strongly. This puzzled me a little at first, but students of swidden agriculture seem to be agreed that the fertility of the gardens depends considerably upon the dryness of the weather during the period when gardens are cleared and the felled vegetation burnt. (See, for instance, Geertz, 1966: 22-23.)

Rainfall varies considerably from place to place, month to month and year to year. I have quoted some data, for Popondetta and Awala, extending over a number of years. Inonda rainfall is somewhat below that of Popondetta; Sivepa rainfall is significantly higher than at Awala. Thus Inonda usually gets 80 to 90 inches of rain per year while Sivepa gets at least 200 (Tables 3 and 4). Europeans tend to divide the year into a "wet" and a "dry" season. [821] This is not a very accurate division and Orokaiva do not use it. It rains some days in every month and the notion of a dry season can be arrived at only statistically; it will then be seen to fall in June-August at Awala and Sivepa; in May-September at Popondetta and Inonda. This dry period, for the Orokaiva, is the clearing [241] and planting period par excellence. The Orokaiva know that the best harvests occur if it rains little during this operation. They may not be able to explain this by the fertility gained from the ash (they think it is the sun that gives the fertility during planting) but one does notice a certain sense of urgency at this time of year to attend to clearing and planting.

132 In October the heaviest rains begin and this is the period 241 when crops grow fastest. Thus the crops planted during the dry period are apt to develop particularly well while crops planted earlier are able to mature. It is true that planting and harvesting continue for most of the year but the rainfall variations do influence the yield of taro planted at different seasons; hence the Orokaiva do have a clear notion of optimal seasons for certain operations. The dry period is the optimal planting period, while the months preceding are the period of optimal harvest.

planting is already completed for when the old people see the tauga leaves drop over the newly planted gardens they say that the taro will have good leaves; their virtue is said to come from the tauga leaves that drop. The driest part of the year is now at hand and few taro shoots suitable for planting are developing; hence, the best planting time is past.

6. The flowering of the tauga announces the beginning of the rainy season. This falls around the beginning of October.

7. At about Christmas, immature tauga nuts begin to fall from the trees. This is the beginning of the time of shortage and also the occasion of some further garden magic to encourage the swelling of the main taro crop. Some minor feasts occur around this time. People then begin to look forward to the time the garepa will flower again.

We may compare this with Waddell's statistical data, which compares man-weeks spent on all types of activities in Sivepa over the periods 3 February-3 May, 1964; 20 July-6 September, 1964; and 9 November, 1964-3 January, 1965. His figures do not rally particularly closely with the ideological pattern set out by informants and he explains this by an untypical rainfall pattern in 1964; it was unusually dry.

Rainfall fluctuations have a profound effect on the yield of the main crop taro. Because of the porosity of the ground, very heavy rainfall is needed to ensure a good harvest. Feasts can be held only in years when the rainfall has been good and the harvest accordingly abundant. In other years people are close to starvation level in the months before the harvest. It is then they rely on supplementary crops such as sago.

In recent years, two further calendars have become superimposed upon the traditional one: that of the Christian festivals and that of the European economy, notably monthly coffee sales from June to December and the payment of Local Government Council tax supposedly in September.

Section 3: Topography

In this section I shall specifically describe the differences in topography between Sivepa and Inonda, but this description will illustrate at the same time the fundamental differences between the ecological base of Orokaiva mountain settlements such as are found on the slopes of Mount Lamington and of the plains settlements found North and East of the mountain. I have drawn my data from a regional land and soil survey done by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation in 1954, as well as from remarks of Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Rimoldi (1966).

were to hear this message all the time; yet they came to listen and speakers managed to introduce enough news and good oratory to hold general attention. Furthermore, both in discussion after the speeches and later in private, they agreed with a good deal of it. There was no compulsion about this; if they were bored or disagreed, they were apt to slip away, either with an excuse or without one. If they became really tired of a councillor, they need not re-elect him after his two-year term was over. The councillors were the first, I was told, to change the people's thinking. The "committee" were not given to such oratory; people would never have tolerated it; their job was a humbler, purely executive one. But their actions were always in pursuance of the general principles enunciated by councillors; they were made "legitimate" by what the councillors said. "Committee" was definitely not the mouthpiece of Australian authority, but of the council. This was an ambiguous position, as I already pointed out, because the courts on which the councillor depended as ultimate sanction, was Australian-controlled. Nonetheless, at the level of face-to-face relationships, which mattered most, the "committee" had to rely on his own authority.

Some were not very successful; in Sivepa, the "committee" was at the same time clan-leader and feast-leader; it was therefore very hard indeed to ignore him. In villages where the feast-leader stood aloof from the Council structure, the malcontents could gather round him and defy Council authority until the patrol officer intervened. This is what happened in Garombi, a neighbour-village to Sivepa. Here traditional and modern authority were vested in different persons, whereas in Sivepa both were vested in the same person.

The pattern of religious leadership was much more subtle. First, at Sivepa and Inonda, as in many other places, cooperation with the mission began long before anyone was baptised or even a catechist. At Sasembata, the first phase started after the war. The Orokaiva were glad to have the mission because it provided education for their children (this was the advantage always cited) and no doubt also because of some benefits in the form of European goods. In return for these benefits, the local people helped with land and with labour for buildings, carrying, etc. The man on whose property the rice was grown before the eruption was not, and never became a Christian but died a Pagan in 1963. It was consistent with Orokaiva religious concepts to ask a deacon to bless the seeds of a European crop--the Orokaiva do not know the magic appropriate to this crop, whereas the deacon could be presumed to know.

None of the people now living at Sivepa were baptised before the eruption. After the post-eruption Sasembata station was established a large number of people were soon accepted as catechists and on 6 March, 1963, 1165 people from all parts of the Sasembata district were baptised, including some from Sivepa; there was a second mass baptism in September, 1955, and by this time at least one lineage (or plant emblem group) in Sivepa was wholly Christian. The most senior man in

mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading, Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one of the few activities which could induce intersettlement cooperation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to the Orokaiva eye.

Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Orokaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension interpersonal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before. In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at airfields for transport, women and children, far from being in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva territory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality characteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such as patrols may encounter.

The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly interesting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself "primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adaptability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into prominence was the *Baigona*, or "snake cult" of 1911-12, succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by the time Williams reported on it in 1924.[7] Central features of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultivation with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a "shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with somewhat new types of public ritual and symbols, including fragmentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist" societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives

7. *Orokaiva Magic*, Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. P. and Haddon, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," *Hibbert Journal*, 15, 3 pp. 448-463 (1917). Materials are also found in the official reports of the time.

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Newton. She points out that though, in general, people help each other without expecting payment in money, cash must be paid for activities where the employer expects to make a profit, i.e. where he is engaged in 'business'. There was a Youth Group who offered themselves for labour contracts but nobody "hired the group to build a house – a subsistence activity". Labour was "treated as a commodity" and used only to create exchange values.

Now, Newton suggests this was because such money-making "was seen as a corporate action and necessitated profit sharing". Thus, children were paid if they carried cash crops to market. They were, however, compensated according to age, rather than according to time and labour input. "Eldest sons and daughters received a large portion, as might senior shareholders in a family company."

Thus, people were doing exactly the same labour in the village as they were paid for outside. Outside, this labour was alienating because workers had no control over the product of their labour. In the village businesses, they did share control of the product. But, from the pay rates quoted by Newton, it is clear that the 'business' could never afford the rates allowed. Why this perpetual disproportion between the small yield and the large distribution to shareholders?

The common pattern in all the data I have quoted lies in the miraculous increase of which money is thought to be capable once it has been subjected to certain ritual practices which the Orokaiva call 'business'. These are rituals which work when practised on a taro shoot – it swells, it multiplies. Ever since the taro cult, taro is the model for multiplication.

But the problem thus posed is insoluble. How, indeed, could these businesses prosper? Only by paying the workers less, by giving no credit, by ensuring that one takes more money from the brothers in the village than they ever get back. Only, in fact, by their alienation. There are so few of them; they have so little – one must be greedy indeed to survive in those villages in business. But alienation is not part of their project. They want the businesses to succeed without alienation. It is in this that they are a religious rather than economic practice.

Thus it is not from ignorance that they fail. Furthermore, it is only the White observers and social scientists who see anything tragic in these failures. If the Orokaiva thought them tragic, they would stop setting them up again and again. Miss Newton rightly comments that you gain status even by, and especially by failing. Your business dies; its limbs or assets are spread among the multitude and increase exceedingly. It is a religious practice.[27]